

University of Groningen

Intergenerational transmission of occupational status before modernization

Marchand, Wouter

IMPORTANT NOTE: You are advised to consult the publisher's version (publisher's PDF) if you wish to cite from it. Please check the document version below.

Document Version
Other version

Publication date:
2016

[Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database](#)

Citation for published version (APA):

Marchand, W. (2016). *Intergenerational transmission of occupational status before modernization: the case of reformed preachers in Friesland, 1700-1800*. 1-21. Paper presented at 11th European Social Science and History Conference, Valencia, Spain.

Copyright

Other than for strictly personal use, it is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

The publication may also be distributed here under the terms of Article 25fa of the Dutch Copyright Act, indicated by the "Taverne" license. More information can be found on the University of Groningen website: <https://www.rug.nl/library/open-access/self-archiving-pure/taverne-amendment>.

Take-down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Downloaded from the University of Groningen/UMCG research database (Pure): <http://www.rug.nl/research/portal>. For technical reasons the number of authors shown on this cover page is limited to 10 maximum.

Wouter Marchand & Jacobus Teitsma Joha

Intergenerational transmission of occupational status before modernization: the case of reformed preachers in Friesland, 1700-1800.

THIS IS A DRAFT VERSION – DO NOT CITE

European Social Science History Conference, Valencia

April 2, 2016

Corresponding author:

Dr. Wouter Marchand

Junior Assistant Professor

Dept. of History and Art History

Research group Economic and Social History

Utrecht University

w.j.marchand@uu.nl



Universiteit Utrecht

1. Introduction

In this paper, we investigate occupational status attainment in a period that is renowned for its remarkable stability in social stratifications. We do so for the Friesland region in the northern part of the Netherlands between 1700 and 1800, and use a multi-generational approach. In recent years, historical research to social mobility has strongly developed, among others as a result of the increased availability of big data, predominantly marriage certificates and census data, and methods to study these. For the Netherlands, the Historical Sample Netherlands combines vital registers with census data for the years between 1812 and 1922 (Mandemakers 2000; Maas, Van Leeuwen, Mandemakers 2008). This has led to a great number of interesting studies, focused on demographic behavior, labor market relations and social mobility among others. The latter strain of research typically tests a set of hypotheses inspired by the modernization thesis by D.J. Treiman (1970). This theory suggests that the occupational structure and the transmission of social status fundamentally changed after industrialization, i.e. in the course of the 19th century. More or less explicitly it implies invariable, rigid social relations in the centuries beforehand. At the same time, it is difficult to investigate social mobility before 1800, because census data and vital registers are only available on a national level from the 19th century onwards. Therefore, both as a result of statistical data gathering in historical times and of the theoretical framework applied by social mobility researchers today, attention is mainly devoted to the 19th and 20th centuries. Pre-industrial times are neglected, even though the theory applied makes clear presuppositions about them.

We have at our disposal a dataset that allows us to circumvent these data problems and investigate status attainment before 1800. It concerns a dataset of 3,250 observations, extended family members of 515 reformed preachers in the Friesland area. This paper uses the data on grandfathers, fathers and sons of the preachers appointed in Friesland between 1700 and 1800, and thus presents a more extended image than the conventional two-generational father-son relation does. In addition, the social positions of fathers-in-law are taken into account, because they tell us something about the value of Frisian preachers on the marriage market, that is: on the social position of the profession itself. Preachers are an

interesting group, because allegedly they form an intermediary group between lower and higher strata. They were academically schooled men, but with modest salaries and modest statuses of origins (Groenhuis 1977). Theological education was widely supported with allowances, targeted at preachers' sons and middle-class youngsters (Slaman, Marchand & Schalk 2016). We ask ourselves to what extent the observed transmission of occupational status over multiple generations justifies the change in social stratifications suggested by the modernization thesis.

First, the theory concerned with social stratifications before 1800 is introduced in paragraph 2, combined with a look at the historiography on social mobility in the pre-industrial times. Then the paragraph 3 introduces the geographical setting. In paragraph 4 the data and method are introduced. Results from our analysis will follow in paragraph 5, after which paragraph 6 concludes.

2. Theory and historiography: occupational status transmission before modernization

The majority of research to social mobility from recent years focuses on the 19th and 20th centuries and makes an attempt to trace the effects of *modernization* on status attainment. These effects were theorized by Treiman (1970) -following Kerr (1962) and Blau & Duncan (1967)- posing that with industrialization and its associated processes the direct transmission of status drops. Modernization includes educational expansion, mass communication, urbanization, and geographical mobility (Treiman 1970, p. 219; cf. Zijdemans 2009). The effects of modernization processes on status attainment were caused by a greater specialization on the labor market, enlarging the number of different jobs and diminishing the share of the work force employed in agriculture. At the same time the demand for non-manual jobs rose. This made it harder for fathers to train their children in the skills belonging to their occupation. Occupational inheritance, the transmission of an occupation from father to son, therefore decreased. The role of formal education on the other hand increased.

Treiman's article from 1970 very much had the character of propositions for which he and his colleagues missed empirical backing at the time. Historical sociologists –and social historians, for that matter- have since tried to find the empirical evidence for the supposed changes in the systems and processes of social stratifications, with varying degrees of success. Recently, Knigge et al. (2014) found that the influence of father's occupational status on his son's started to decrease at a substantial rate from 1858. They were able to link this finding to Treiman's modernization indicators, by showing that status transmission was weakest in more modernized communities in terms of industrialization, education, communication, transportation and urbanization.

The present paper is concerned with the implications of the modernization thesis for pre-modern eras. Zijdemans (2009, p. 458-464) for instance very clearly juxtaposed modern and pre-modern times by formulating that *before* mechanization of labor many sons followed in their father's footsteps; *before* educational expansion a son attained education within the family; *before* mass communication information was spread from person to person. He then moved on to test these assumptions for modern times in a furthermore convincing paper, leaving the implied social rigidity in earlier times aside. But this is exactly the link between 'industrialization', 'modernity' and –in case of a lack thereof- 'backwardness', that De Vries & Van der Woude (2005) resist in their famous study on the Netherlands before 1815 as 'the

first modern economy'. They stated that the Netherlands was a late industrializer, but nevertheless a modern economy in the sense that institutional, organizational and technological change enhanced the efficiency of production and distribution. Processes such as urbanization, education and geographical mobility –note here the echo from modernization theorists– were already relatively well-developed in the 16th and 17th centuries (De Vries & Van der Woude 2005, p. 821). They suggest rather than provide evidence for the fact that the dynamic Dutch labor market needed a considerable amount of social mobility.

Historiography about social relations in early modern Europe likewise provides a somewhat more dynamic image. Already in the 16th century, western European societies were characterized by a shift in economic activities and a process of urbanization, diminishing the share of agriculture and increasing the relative importance of manufacturing and trade (Malamina 2009). This led to a greater differentiation in the occupational structure and hence to a more complex social stratification (Duijvendak 2006). This was also true in Friesland, the Dutch area of interest here (Frieswijk et al. 1998). The enormous changes in the social structure of Saxony in southern Germany presented by Kriedte (1980, p.55), in which the percentage of smallholders increased more than six-fold between 1550 and 1750, and industrial activities prospered, imply that movement between the strata was larger than suggested elsewhere. In the northern Netherlands the political elite of the 'golden' 17th century based their position predominantly on their successful economic position as merchants, shipowners and bankers (Rietbergen 2006; Prak & Van Zanden 2013).

The specific position of reformed preachers deserves some elaboration. Various stratifications grant them different positions, either as member of the academic elite, alongside medical and legal doctors, or as members of the middle-classes. This difference can mainly be explained by a different focus on either their social *origin*, or their own social *status*. Modern class schemes such as HISCLASS (Van Leeuwen & Maas 2011) and HIS-CAM (Lambert et al. 2013) take the characteristics of the profession itself in consideration, and place the preachers as members of the academically schooled professionals, above schoolmasters and administrative personnel. HIS-CAM additionally takes social relations into consideration and therefore places preachers on a par with political policy positions, receiving the highest possible score. But their status of origin was generally more modest, so stratifications focusing on the status of fathers of preachers are more likely to consider preachers as part of the –higher– middle-groups. Busken Huet (1882) for instance, called them members of the group of 'plebeians', depending on the state for their work and income.

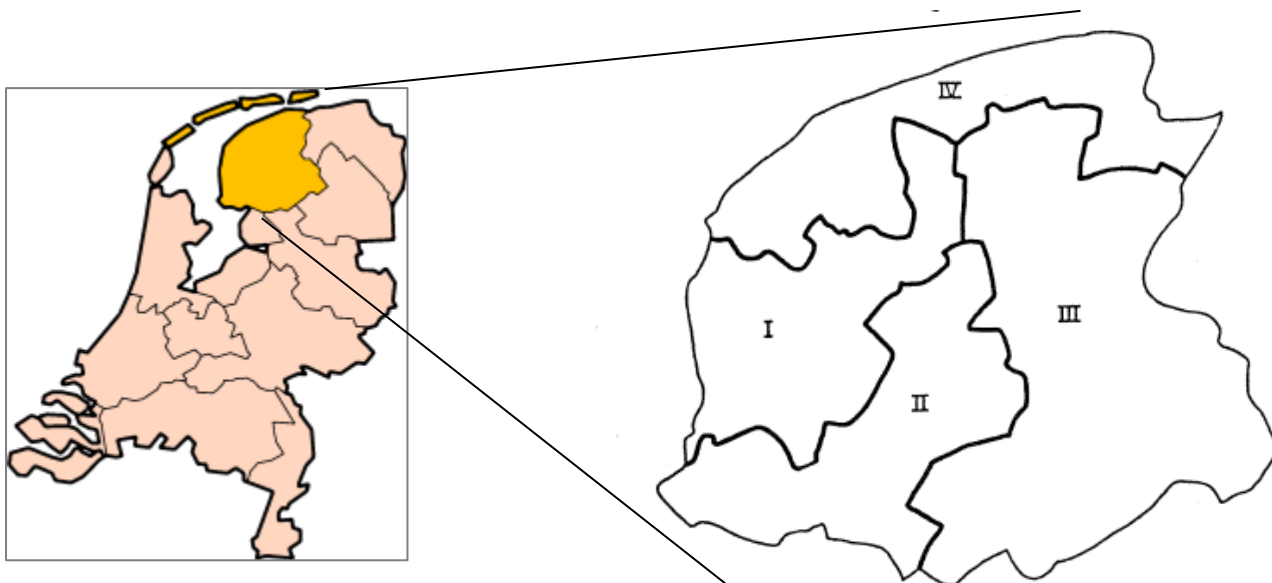
Huizinga (1941, p.450) commented on 17th –century preachers by stating that ‘they predominantly originated from the moderate layers of the bourgeoisie’ [my translation *WJM*]. Groenhuis (1977) opposed this rather negative view in his study on preachers before 1700. About their social status he concluded that they belonged to ‘the group of countryside-bailiffs, urban secretaries, teachers on Latin schools, army-captains and cloth merchants’ (Groenhuis 1977, p.161-162). This broad classification essentially placed preachers beneath the regents and wealthy entrepreneurs, in the higher bourgeoisie. Van Lieburg (1998) in turn criticized Groenhuis for his uniform treatment of the profession as a whole. In his study on the geographical origin of preachers in the Republic between 1572 and 1816, he made the case for a differentiation between urban and rural parishes. This is all the more important because a large majority of preachers served a rural parish. In 1700 out of the roughly 1500 working preachers, 12 per cent was appointed in larger cities and an additional 10 per cent in smaller urban centers (Van Lieburg 1998, p. 99). The income gap between the two groups was allegedly too large to treat them as one and the same status group, and the possibility to move from villages to cities, used by Groenhuis as justification to interpret the profession as a uniform group, was smaller than imagined (Lieburg 1998; Van Rooden 1996). Van Lieburg therefore distinguished between rural and urban preachers, placing the former alongside schoolmasters and shopkeepers in a lower bourgeoisie group, and the latter in a higher bourgeoisie alongside merchants and larger farmers (cf. Frijhoff 1983). Additionally, he stressed that preachers hardly ever stemmed from the highest strata, composed by patriciate and wealthy merchants, and the lowest groups, the smallholders and laborers (Van Lieburg 1998, p. 101).

In conclusion, what stands out from this short treatment of the historiography on preacher’s positions is the difference between origin and current status. Preachers arguably held a transitional position, attracting middle-class families to higher-class status groups. Often this social transition was secured by marriage, enabling the preacher to connect himself to the patriciate. According to Frijhoff (1982) the fruits of this connection were often reaped by the second generation, the sons of preachers who found their way to academic and political positions. This does suggest that this particular occupation serves well to study occupational openness in early-modern times. At the same time we should not neglect a common feature of all the above-mentioned studies to reformed preachers, that is: the importance of occupational inheritance. On average, one-third of all preachers between 1572 and 1816 was the son of a preacher himself, dixit Van Lieburg (1998, p. 102 and 170).

3. The geographical setting: Friesland

The Friesland area was by no means a homogenous region in both economic, demographic and social terms. A persistent division of characteristics existed between the clay area in the west and the sand soil in the east. The economic and demographic center of gravity was located in the clay area bordering the Zuiderzee. This was one of the most densely populated regions in Europe in medieval times, and around 1500 still two-thirds of the Frisian population lived in these lands (Boersma 1970). A common subdivision of the region has been proposed by Faber (1973) who distinguished four areas: the north-western Kleibouwstreek, the western Kleiweidestreek, the south-western Veenweidestreek and the eastern Wouden (see map 1b, retrieved from McCants 1992).

Maps 1a and 1b. The location of the Friesland area in the Netherlands; Subdivision of Friesland in four land-use regions, following Faber (1973)



SOURCE Johannes A. Faber, *Drie Eeuwen Friesland* (Wageningen, 1972), 610.

NOTE Region I—Kleiweidestreek; Region II—Veenweidestreek; Region III—de Wouden; and Region IV—Kleibouwstreek.

Table 1 shows the population density of the distinguished areas, showing a regional variation on the national division between coastal and landed areas (Prak & Van Zanden 2013). Both the economic and demographic focus was on the clay areas (Areas I and IV of map 1b), while the sanded soil (Area III) was less densely populated and less prosperous. Area II took a position in between.

Table 1. Population density measured in persons per km² in the distinguished areas of Friesland, 1511; 1714; 1744; 1796.

	1511		1714		1744		1796	
	Rural + Urban	Rural	Rural + Urban	Rural	Rural + Urban	Rural	Rural + Urban	Rural
I Kleiweide (Clay)	45	33	72	36	68	36	79	40
II Veenweide (Peat)	20	18	34	24	35	26	40	32
III Wouden (Sand)	-	11	-	20	-	24	-	29
IV Kleibouw (Clay)	36	33	62	41	65	44	75	54

Source: Frieswijk et al. 1998, p. 41.

The clay areas housed an average of 40 persons per square kilometer, while on sand soil the population density was 11 per square kilometer. All the Frisian cities were located in the clay area. This distinction between clay and sand persisted, even though the differences shrank over time. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the population of Friesland doubled and the share of city dwellers rose from 23 to 33 per cent.

The coastal areas of Friesland belonged to the more prosperous regions of the Dutch Republic, together with the other sea provinces Holland, Zeeland and Groningen. Friesland had the second highest tax revenues of the Republic, albeit with a very substantial distance to the revenues of Holland. The export of agricultural products, such as cheese and meat, but also of manufacturing goods such as bricks, chalk and luxury goods such as silverwork, was a very lucrative business (Frieswijk et al. 1998). This led to an increase of non-agricultural specializations in the course of the 17th century –manufacturing, trade, shipping- in cities and the growing industrial villages –*Vlekken*-, such as Heerenveen and Drachten among several others. Together this trend of population growth and concentration in urban and non-agrarian centers accounted for a shift of the demographic center of gravity from the rural clay areas to the cities and the Wouden (McCants 1992). It

simultaneously brought about a shift in economic activities where the importance of industry and services (predominantly trade) increased (Frieswijk et al. 1998).

In Friesland the population growth stagnated from the last decades of the 17th century, partly as a result of the economic downturn, just as it did in the Dutch Republic as a whole (Lourens & Lucassen 1997). The size of the population decreased with about 15 per cent between 1660 and 1744 (Frieswijk et al. 1998). Rising prices in agriculture, advances in hygiene and improved nutrition as a result of the spread of the potato, turned this situation around after the middle of the 18th century. Birth rates increased, while at the same time mortality decreased (Frieswijk 1998). McCants (1992) estimated mortality in urban and rural centers to be 32.1 against 25.9 per 1000 of the population respectively. Frieswijk et al. (1998, p.42) follow her in that, by stating that mortality in rural areas was '8 to 10 per mil lower.' McCants estimates implied that in cities the natural increase of the population was negative, which was supplemented by internal rural-urban migration (cf. Schroor 1993 about Leeuwarden).

Finally, from 1585 onwards Friesland had its own center for higher learning, in the university of Franeker in the north-west. It provided education in all five faculties: theology, law, medicine, humanities and physics. Around 1700 it was one of 12 institutions for higher education in the Republic, educating one in 40 eighteen-year olds or 2.5 per cent, leading to complaints about overproduction of the academically schooled (Frijhoff 1982, p.502). This percentage started to decrease for a combination of reasons throughout the 18th century and Franeker was hit especially hard. Towards the end of the 18th century student numbers plummeted, in 1795 only 8 students were left (Jensma 1985; Caljé 2011).

4. Background, sources, methods

The dataset used here, was composed by Jacobus Teitsma Joha, who died in 2015. He collected a wide range of demographic and occupational information about 515 preachers in the Friesland area between 1700 and 1800, including occupations of parents, grandparents, parents-in-law, uncles and children, allowing for a four-generation social mobility approach. Table 2 depicts the number of observations for the different categories. This collection is valuable in the light of recent developments in historical social mobility research, which finds strong influence of broader families, including grandparents and uncles, on status attainment (Mare 2011).

This data provides us with a unique opportunity to take a glance at status transmission before 1800, but we must not neglect that it is only a partial look. The social relations we see are those of families in which at least one member was appointed as preacher. This is a clear bias, because an important share of the population remains outside of this selection. Social rigidity among farmers, millers and carpenters cannot be tested using this dataset, if none of their offspring worked as a reformed preacher at one time. Nonetheless, what we can show is the variety of economic sectors and social strata occurring in the families of preachers, and the coherence of occupations between the generations. This is a valuable addition to social mobility literature of the early modern times.

Table 2. The composition of the dataset

Relation	Total N	N with occupation	Percentage missing
Preacher	515	515	0
Grandfather	765	668	13
Father	515	461	11
Son	961	536	44
Father-in-law	494	441	11
N observations	3250	2621	19
4-generation pairs	155		

The information in the dataset was collected from a variety of sources, most notably the biographical datasets about preachers in Friesland, Groningen and the Republic by Romein (1886), Van Duinkerken (1992) and Van Lieburg (1998) respectively. Additional information about families was gathered from archives of universities, source collections on nobility and patriciate and biographic collections. An important source for the local stratification were

the census records of 1749, the so-called *Quotisatiekohieren* (Nieuwland & Van Dalfsen 1988). These were drafted in 1749 to study an alternative way of taxing the population dependent on family size and wealth. Therefore, an estimate of the capital of all taxpayers was collected in all regions of the Friesland area. It was used before to measure migration in Friesland by McCants (1992).

The social positions of the observed men in the dataset are derived from their occupations. Even though this is a common practice for social historians, it has been criticized for a number of both theoretical and practical reasons. Theoretically, occupations were arguably not the best indicators of social status in the past (De Belder 1976; Thompson 1964). Practical issues concern the supposed loss of information while classifying titles into a stratification scheme, and the neglect of contextual factors equally important to an individual's life chances (Van de Putte & Buyst 2010). Furthermore the occupational titles in the sources can be difficult to classify, because of the lack of information. Notoriously treacherous are merchant, which can refer to peddlers as well as wealthy wholesalers, and farmer, whose relative position strongly differs per regional context (Paping 2010). Occupations can be classified and hierarchically ordered using classification schemes of various types. Research to 19th and 20th centuries increasingly use classification schemes based on the *standard classification* HISCO, that classifies occupations in groups, which can be ordered using class schemes, most notably HISCLASS that uses characteristics of the occupation as criteria for grouping, and HIS-CAM that is based on social relations between occupational groups (Van Leeuwen & Maas 2011; Lambert et al. 2013). These schemes are however designed to estimate occupational relations after 1800, although HISCLASS has incidentally also been used for earlier eras. For the early modern Netherlands several stratifications exist, such as those composed by Frijhoff (1983; Frijhoff & Spies 2000; p. 189-191) and De Vries & Van der Woude (2005; p. 647-655). These schemes are very much alike, distributing occupations in 6 classes, but differ importantly with regard to the position of preachers. De Vries & Van der Woude integrate the preachers in the second highest group (*Higher bourgeoisie*) with an estimated annual income of 1000 guilders or more, accompanied by larger merchants, doctors and lawyers. This group was only foregone by the governing patriciate, the highest group. Frijhoff on the other hand differentiated between preachers in urban and rural environments, placing the former in the higher bourgeoisie (class 2 out of 6) and the latter in the lower bourgeoisie (group 3 out of 6). The differentiation between urban and rural preachers is a theme that will be elaborated upon later in this paper. Frijhoff's stratification was also used by Van Lieburg (1998) in his study to reformed preachers in the

16th to the 18th centuries. This stratification –depicted in table 3– is therefore also used in the current paper.

In addition the occupations are broken down into 10 economic sectors. What we are interested in is the extent to which people practiced similar occupations, and it is useful to not only take the levels of the stratification into consideration, but concrete activities as well. Therefore, occupations are coded into one of the sectors depicted in table 4.

Table 3. Stratification scheme derived from Frijhoff (1983; Frijhoff & Spies 2000).

N°	Examples of occupations in group
1	Regents, Mayors, Government administrators
2	Wealthy merchants, Land owners, Academic professions (among them: urban preachers)
3	Smaller entrepreneurs, Craftsmen, Landowning farmers, Notaries, Rural preachers
4	Small farmers, shopkeepers, schoolmasters
5	Laborers
6	Poor populace

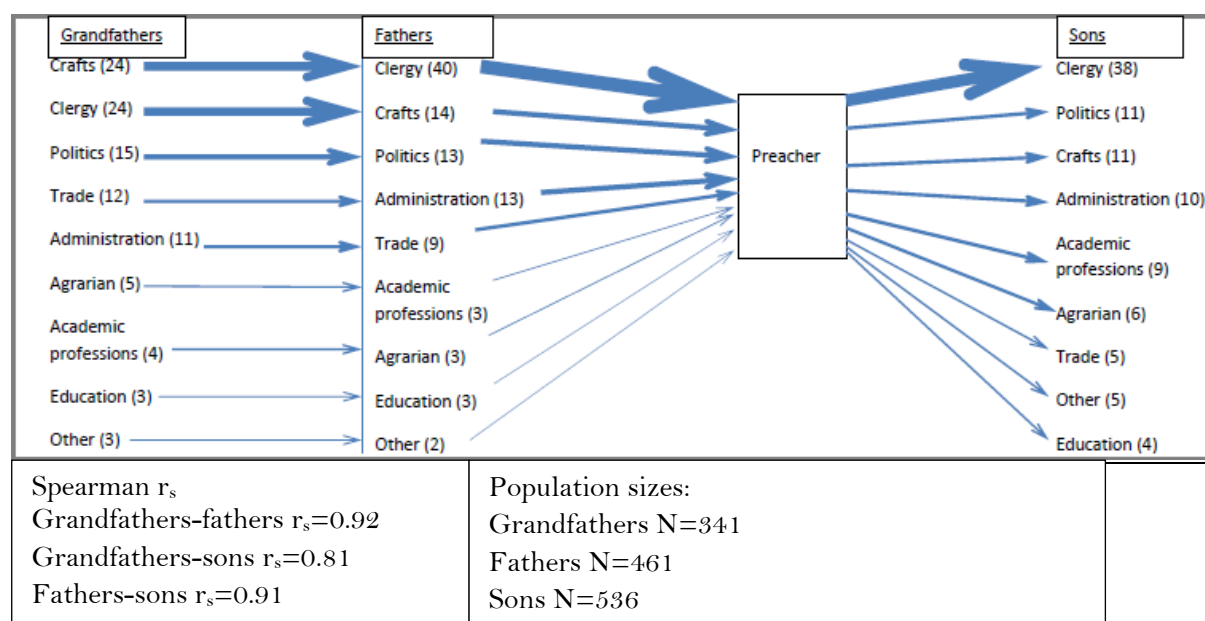
Table 4. Economic sectors (alphabetical, non-hierarchical order)

N°	Sector	N°	Sector
1	Academic professions	6	Education
2	Administrative	7	Labor
3	Agrarian	8	Military
4	Clergy	9	Politics
5	Crafts	10	Trade

5. Results

In this paragraph we turn to the results of our efforts. Of 515 preachers we know the social position, derived from occupational titles, of grandfathers (of mothers' and of fathers' sides), fathers, fathers-in-law and sons. We are mainly interested in the questions of occupational inheritance, status inheritance, sectorial changes over the generations, preachers' status and changes over time.

Figure 1. Occupations of grandfathers, fathers and sons, by frequency.



In figure 1 we have first highlighted all sectors involved in the occupations of grandfathers (of fathers' side of the family), fathers and sons. Occupations are listed by frequency and the percentages of all known occupations for the category at hand are mentioned in brackets. This allows a first glance at the relations around the profession of preacher. Literature already suggested a large share of occupational inheritance, and we recognize that in our data. One quarter of all grandfathers was a preacher, two-fifth of all fathers and two-fifth of all sons.¹ Indeed, our dataset gives a considerable amount of preacher dynasties, such as the family of Julius Sterringa, appointed as preacher in Lippenhuizen and Boornbergum, whose grandfather was preacher in Oenkerk, whose father in Deinum and whose son Gossuines enlisted in the theology faculty of Franeker University in 1717. Another good example is the Snethlage family. Albertus was urban preacher in Leeuwarden, and his grandfather, his

¹ We cannot rule out the possibility that the number of preachers is overestimated, because this profession was much easier to find in the sources than other, less well-documented occupations. In comparison with estimates by Van Lieburg, 40 percent seems high, but not unrealistic.

father and his three sons likewise worked as reformed preachers. So did his two brothers, by the way. In our data 155 complete 4-generation couples occur, and in 17 cases grandfather, father and at least one son preached (11 percent).

At the same time, we see that all other sectors are involved around the preacher's profession, that is: including the patriciate on the top and manual labor at the bottom of the stratification. This contradicts with Van Lieburg (1998, p. 101), who claimed the highest and the lowest strata were absent among preachers' fathers. Likewise, the absence of farmers is refuted, even though their share among grandfathers, fathers and sons is stable but low around 5 per cent. The position of craftsmen stands out, forming one quarter of the observed grandfathers, and 14 respectively 11 percent of all fathers and sons. On the other hand, Frijhoff's expectation that preachers' sons would reap the social benefits of their fathers' status by entering the academic professions of medical and legal doctor, does not convincingly show. The number of sons in the academic professions was even lower than those in administration or crafts, even though some spill-overs might occur between the labels 'politics' and 'academic', for the share of legal doctors in political policy positions.

This presentation of the data does not suggest a closed social system. The number of preachers in the extended families of preachers was admittedly high, conform historiography. The Spearman rank correlation between the series for grandfathers, fathers and sons suggest that the role of preachers as social brokers between the middle- and the higher strata seems overstated. The order of the sectors by frequency remained very much alike. But this just indicates that the large occupational variance played an equal role for all generations. In terms of Frijhoff's stratification –presented earlier in table 3- about 50% of all grandfathers, fathers and sons were members of middle group 3. Apart from the anecdotal examples of preacher dynasties, families can be highlighted that appear to make a lot less sense in a perceived closed class society. Rudolphus Nicolai was preacher in Wons and Arum among others, while his father worked as wagon painter in Leeuwarden and his grandfather had been a farmer. Rudolphus married a daughter of a member of Franeker city council, but his son Douwe did not end up in academic or political circles, but became a craftsman -house painter- in the city of Leeuwarden.

In order to link the generations together, and to shed light on the actual status transmission we have calculated percentages of fathers and sons working in manual occupations –crafts, trade, agriculture- per sectorial category of the grandfather of father's side. The results are in table 5. We see that for crafts the influence of grandfathers on the occupational status of

their offspring is strongest, for almost half of the second generation and around one-third of the fourth generation has a manual occupation.

Table 5. Share of fathers and sons of observed preachers in manual occupations, by sector of the grandfather

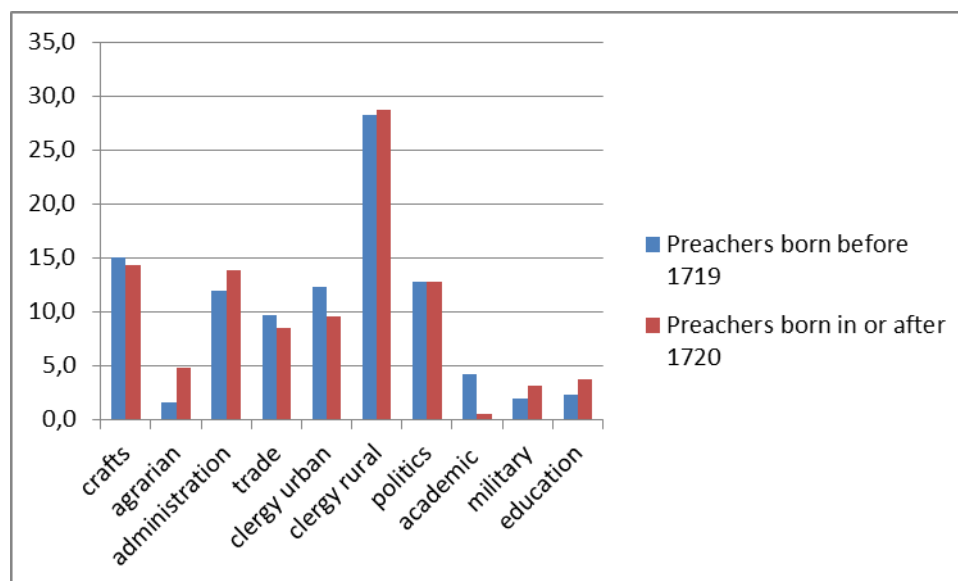
Grandfathers (Generation 1)	Fathers (Generation 2)	Sons (Generation 4)
Crafts	47,4	35,1
Agrarian	31,6	12,5
Administration	16,7	28,1
Trade	57,9	17,5
Clergy urban	6,3	20,0
Clergy rural	13,1	25,0
Politics	22,2	22,6
Academic	25,0	25,0

That means that sons of preachers appear to be influenced by the occupational status of their grandfather and great-grandfather. For one-third of the preacher's sons of whom the great-grandfather was a craftsman, the profession of their father did not bring about a social transfer to a non-manual occupation in administration, politics, academic professions or clergy. The relation between the grandfathers in trade with the second generation is very strong –with more than half working in a manual occupation– but weak on the fourth generation. On the other hand, the statuses of offspring of grandfathers in politics, the top end of Frijhoff's stratification, indicate that in Friesland in this period the patriciate was relatively open. One-fifth of sons of political actors had a manual occupation, and one-fifth of preacher's sons with politicians in the family fell back in manual occupation nonetheless.

Frijhoff suggested a crisis of the profession of preachers in the course of the eighteenth century, leading to a decreased recruitment of new preachers from lower-middle strata (1982). We have divided our data in two birth cohorts, in order to check for differences in the social origin of Frisian preachers and found only a few. Figure 2 presents father's occupations of preachers appointed in Friesland born before and after 1720.² This particular year was chosen because Frijhoff suggested the inflow to change around 1750 and preachers served their first parish at an average age of 26. Figure 2 shows a very stable status of origin by fathers occupation that does not indicate changes in the social recruitment.

² Preachers born between 1628-1719 N=259; Preachers born between 1720-1796 N=188.

Figure 2. Status of origin by father's occupation for preachers born before and after 1720



Sector Father-in-law	Urban preachers (N=113)	Rural preachers (N=255)
Agriculture	2,7	6,7
Crafts	13,3	16,9
Administration	9,7	12,2
Trade	13,3	12,9
Military	3,5	2,7
Education	4,4	2,7
Clergy urban	9,7	3,5
Clergy rural	7,1	14,5
Politics	28,3	23,1
Academic professions	8,0	4,7
Manual	32,8	39,2
Non-manual	67,2	60,7

Finally we look at the positions of fathers-in-law, that we take to indicate the social position of preachers, or –in economic terms- their value on the marriage market. We differentiate between urban and rural preachers, because of the perceived status difference as a result of higher income level and higher professional prestige of the former. Table 6 shows the results a few of which stand out. Urban preachers married into the sectors of highest prestige – Politics and academics- slightly more than their rural counterparts. Urban preachers

married into non-manual milieux more often than their rural counterparts. The biggest difference was to be found in the preachers' group itself though. Rural preachers married daughters of rural preachers more often than daughters of urban preachers. In general, the preachers were not a very important group of fathers-in-law, but the daughters of politicians are the most frequently selected. For both rural and urban preachers this is a strong indication that their social position was relatively good and that they sat close to the local elite.

6. Conclusions and discussion

In this paper we have used a very rich dataset, consisting of over 3000 observations of occupations of extended family members of Frisian preachers, to shed light on occupational status transmission in a period that is renowned for its social rigidity. We have shown that family members of preachers had a variety of occupations, too big to justify the perception of a closed social system. This variety does also occur among sons of preachers, thus failing to live up to the expectation of the profession of preacher as social broker, an image strongly present in the literature. We have on the other hand also encountered a large share of occupational inheritance among preachers, and also influence of occupational statuses between grandfathers, fathers and sons of preachers.

A step to improve this research is mainly methodological. The data allow for an analysis using a continuous occupational scale, opening possibilities for more advanced analysis and for a better comparison with mobility research for the 19th century. The stratification system that could make that possible however, HIS-CAM, seems only applicable to 19th and 20th century populations. Furthermore it is focused on current status of the occupations, as opposed to status of family origin. This is problematic for this particular group, as has hopefully become clear in the discussion of the theory.

7. Bibliography

- Blau, P.M. & Duncan, O. (1967). *The American occupational structure*. New York: Wiley.
- Boersma, J.W. (1970). *Terpen, mens en milieu*. Haren: S.N.
- Busken Huet, C. (1882). *Het land van Rembrandt. Studiën over de Noordnederlandse beschaving in de zeventiende eeuw*. Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink.
- Caljé, P. (2011). Dalende studentenaantallen en de ondergang van de Franecker academie. In: Bakker, P., Corporaal, J., Frieswijk, J., Jansen, D., Jensma, G., Knottnerus, O., Nijdam, H. & Taayke, E. Eds., *Verdwenen maar niet vergeten. Themanummer rond de opheffing van de academie van Franecker in 1811*. Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademie.
- De Belder, J. (1976). Bezit of beroep als criterium voor de sociale doorsnede. Een aanzet tot uniformisering van reconstructiemethoden, *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis* VI, 257-279.
- Duinkerken, W. van (1969). *Sinds de Reductie in Stad en Lande van Groningen*. Groningen: S.N.
- Duijvendak, M.G.J. (2006). Bevolking, economie en sociale verhoudingen. Divergente ontwikkelingen in Europa. In: Frijhoff, W & Wessels, F. Eds. (2006), *Veelvormige dynamiek. Europa in het Ancien Regime. 1450-1800*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Boom-SUN, 51-82.
- Faber, J.A. (1973). *Drie eeuwen Friesland. Economische en sociale ontwikkelingen van 1500 tot 1800*. Leeuwarden: De Tille.
- Frieswijk, J., J. Huizinga, L. Jansma & Y. Kuiper Eds. (1998). *Geschiedenis van Friesland 1750-1995*. Amsterdam & Meppel: Boom.
- Frijhoff, W. & Spies M. (2000). *1650. Bevochten eendracht*. Den Haag, SDU.
- Frijhoff, W. (1983). Non satis dignitatis. Over de maatschappelijke status van geneeskundigen tijdens de Republiek. *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 96, 379-406.
- Frijhoff, W. (1982). De arbeidsmarkt voor academici tijdens de Republiek. *Spiegel Historiae* 17, 501-510.
- Groenhuis, G. (1977). *De predikanten. De sociale positie van de gereformeerde predikanten in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden voor 1700*. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff.
- Huizinga, J. (1941; reprint 1998). *Nederlands beschaving in de zeventiende eeuw. Een schets*. Amsterdam: Contact.
- Jensma, G. (1985), *Universiteit te Franecker, 1585-1811*. Leeuwarden, Fryske Akademie.
- C. Kerr (1962). *Industrialism and industrial man: the problems of labor and management in economic growth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Knigge, A., Maas, I., Leeuwen, M.H.D. van & Mandemakers, K. (2014). "Status attainment of siblings during modernization", *American sociological review* 79: 3, 549-579.
- Lambert, P.S., R.L. Zijdeman, M.H.D. van Leeuwen, I. Maas & K. Prandy (2013). The construction of HIS-CAM: A stratification scale based on social interaction, *Historical Methods* 46: 2, 77-89.

- Leeuwen, M.H.D. van & I. Maas, *HISCLASS. Historical International Social Class Scheme*. Leuven: Leuven UP.
- Lieburg, F.A. van (1998). *Profeten en hun vaderland. De geografische herkomst van de gereformeerde predikanten in Nederland van 1572 tot 1816*. Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum.
- Lourens, P. & J. Lucassen (1997). *Inwonersaantallen van Nederlandse steden ca. 1300-1800*. Amsterdam: NEHA.
- Maas, I., Van Leeuwen M.H.D. & Mandemakers, K. (2008). *Honderdvijftig jaar levenslopen. De Historische Steekproef Nederlandse bevolking*. Boekaflevering Mens & Maatschappij 83, Amsterdam University Press.
- Malamina, P. (2009). Decline or growth? European cities and rural economies, 1300-1600. *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des ländlichen Raumes* 6, 18-43.
- Mandemakers, K. (2000). The Netherlands. Historical Sample of the Netherlands', in: P. Kelly Hall, R. McCaa, G. Thorvaldsen eds. (2000), *Handbook of International Historical Microdata for Population Research*. Minnesota Population Center Minneapolis, 149-177.
- Mare, R.D. (2011). A multi-generational view of inequality. *Demography* 48, 1-23.
- McCants, A. (1996). Internal migration in Friesland, 1750-1805. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 22, 387-409.
- Nieuwland, P. & A. van Dalfsen (1988). *De quotisatiekohieren: namen, beroepen en welstand van de Friese bevolking in 1749*. Leeuwarden: Monumenta Frisia.
- Paping, R.F.J. (2010). Taxes, property size, occupations and social structure, the case of the 18th and 19th century northern Dutch countryside. *Revue Belge d'histoire contemporaine rbhc/ btng Belgisch Tijdschrift voor nieuwste geschiedenis* 40 (2010) 215-248.
- Prak, M.R. & J.L. van Zanden (2013). *Nederland en het poldermodel. De economische en sociale geschiedenis van Nederland 1000-2000*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
- Putte, B. Van de, en E. Buyst (2010). *Measuring social stratification in historical research. An overview of old problems and new methods*. *Belgisch tijdschrift voor nieuwste geschiedenis* XL: 1-2 (2010).
- Rietbergen, P.J. (2006). Standenstaat en standensamenleving. In: Frijhoff, W & Wessels, F. Eds. (2006), *Veelvormige dynamiek. Europa in het Ancien Regime. 1450-1800*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Boom-SUN.
- Romein, T.A. (1886). *Naamlijst der predikanten sinds de hervorming tot nu toe, in de hervormde gemeenten van Friesland*. Leeuwarden: Meijer.
- Rooden, P. van (1996). *Religieuze regimes. Over godsdienst en maatschappij in Nederland, 1570-1990*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker.
- Schroor, M. (1993). De demografische ontwikkeling van Leeuwarden in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw (1606-1793), *Leeuwarder historische reeks* 4, 40-104.
- Slaman, P.J., Marchand, W.J. & Schalk, R. (2016). *Kansen in het Koninkrijk. Studiebeurzen 1815-2015*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Boom.
- Treiman, D.J. (1970). Industrialization and social stratification, *Sociological Inquiry* 40: 2, 207-234.

- Vries, J. de & Woude, A.M. van der (2005). *Nederland 1500-1815: de eerste ronde van moderne economische groei*. Amsterdam: Balans.
- Zijdeman, R.L. (2009). Like my father before me. Intergenerational occupational status transfer during industrialization (Zeeland 1811-1915), *Continuity and Change* 24: 3, 455-486.